

261730Z SEP 72

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE CONTAINS CODEWORD WHPO0035

FROM: AMBASSADOR BUNKER SAIGON 166
TO: EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER
ACTION: THE WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE
REF: SAIGON 0164

FROM: GEN HAIG THE WHITE HOUSE

TO: COLONEL GUAY PARIS

PLEASE DELIVER TO WINSTON LORD FOR MR. KISSINGER

TOHAK 17

1. NHA CALLED ON ME AT 1300 TODAY AND HANDED ME PAPER ENTITLED "MEMORANDUM RE COMMUNIST PROPOSALS AND U.S. MEMORANDUM OF SEPTEMBER 19, 1972." THE MEMORANDUM OF SEPTEMBER 19 IS THE ONE REFERRED TO IN REFTEL WHICH I HANDED THIEU AT OUR MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 23. POINTS IN MEMORANDUM WERE COVERED IN MORE AMPLIFIED FORM IN MY CONVERSATION WITH THIEU AND REFERRED TO IN REFTEL. FOR THE RECORD, HOWEVER,

I AM FORWARDING IT TOGETHER WITH THE GVN MEMORANDUM IN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MESSAGE.

2. AS MENTIONED REFTEL, AT MY MEETING WITH THIEU SEPTEMBER 23, I WENT OVER REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 15 MEETING IN DETAIL, OUR PEACE PROPOSAL AS TABLED AND THE WORDING OF THE TWO ITEMS IN POINT 4, I.E., A) IN 4 A) REFERENCE TO "REVIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION" AND B) THE COMPOSITION OF THE CNR. I EXPLAINED FULLY REASONS WE BELIEVED MADE IT ESSENTIAL TO FOLLOW THIS COURSE AS SET FORTH IN YOUR 2165 AND 2168. THROUGHOUT THE CONVERSATION, HE RAISED NO OBJECTION TO THE PROCEDURE WE FOLLOWED AND, AS MENTIONED REFTEL, I CONCLUDED HE WOULD NOT DO SO.

3. IT SEEMS TO ME APPARENT, HOWEVER, BOTH FROM THE TONE AND THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MEMORANDUM THAT THIEU HAS BEEN DISTURBED AND CONCERNED NOT ONLY BY HANOI'S PEACE PROPOSALS, BUT ALSO BY THE OTHER SIDE'S PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE, ESPECIALLY THE PRG STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 11 AND THE DRV STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 14. THIS WILL PROBABLY NOT BE DIMINISHED BY THE NHADAN ARTICLE OF SEPTEMBER 25, WHICH APPEARED TODAY, FOLLOWING LINE SIMILAR TO THE TWO PREVIOUS STATEMENTS. I THINK APPREHENSION OF THE EFFECT OF THIS PROPAGANDA IS ONE OF THE FACTORS BEHIND THE HARD LINE WHICH THIEU HAD BEEN FOLLOWING AS MENTIONED PARAGRAPH 9, REFTEL.

4. AFTER READING THE GVN MEMORANDUM, I TRIED TO GET APPOINTMENT WITH THIEU FOR THIS AFTZGNOON TO DISCUSS IT WITH HIM SINCE IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THERE ARE PARTS OF IT WHICH ON DISCUSSION AND FURTHER REFLECTION HE WILL WANT TO CHANGE OR WITHDRAW. THESE WILL BE EVIDENT TO YOU ON READING IT. I HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET AN APPOINTMENT, HOWEVER, UNTIL TOMORROW MORNING AND AM THEREFORE FORWARDING MEMORANDUM AS PRESENTED. I SHALL REPORT IMMEDIATELY AFTER MY TALK WITH THIEU.

5. WARM REGARDS.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

State Dept. review completed

MORI/CDF 5081106

END OF MESSAGE